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VINDICATION

OF

A. B. NORTON,

FROM THE ATTACKS OF HIS ENEMIES,

MADE IN THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE,

APRIL 8th 1861.

CORRESPONDENCE.

GEN A. B. NORTON:—

SIR: The undersigned, having been associated with you in the State Legislature, and believing you to be true to our rights, and being desirous that the people of the State may know your position, we respectfully request that you will furnish for publication your remarks made in the House on the 8th inst.

Austin, April 9th 1861.

GEO. MCKNIGHT, WM. SMITH,
A. M. M. UPSHAW, W. M. PRYCE,
W. M. OWEN, J. LEWTER,
J. W. DAVIS, A. F. CRAWFORD,
EMERY RAINS, B. F. ROSS,
E. BRYAN, JOEL ROBINSON,
T. H. MUNDINE, M. L. ARMSTRONG,
S. J. REDGATE, GEO. W. WHITMORE,
J. E. HENRY, W. B. MIDDLETON,
B. H. EPPERSON, F. WERDE,
JAMES H. DUNCAN, A. C. HYDE,
THOS. LEWELLYN, N. H. DARNELL,
H. P. MABRY, H. H. EDWARDS,
J. L. HAYNES, J. W. THROCKMORTON,
D. M. WHALEY, J. W. CADDELL, & others.

AUSTIN, APRIL, 1861.

GENTLEMEN:

In response to your kind favor, I furnish herewith a copy of my remarks, believing it due to my friends and associates that the truth should be known, and a foul calumny thereby dispelled.

"There are many devils that walk this world—
Devils great, and devils small,
Devils with tails and devils without;"
Devils who whisper, devils who shout,
Devils who mystify, devils who teach;
But the CALUMNY DEVIL—as hard to reach
As the [illegible] safe and on some
[illegible],
Is digesting the core of my favorite peach,
Is the [illegible] devil of them all!

Thankful for your good opinion and friendship, which I prize, and with well wishes for your prosperity, I am, respectfully,

Yours, &c.,

A. B. NORTON.

Messrs [illegible] MCKNIGHT,
WM. SMITH,
W. B. MIDDLETON,
A. C. HYDE,
F. WERDE,
N. H. DARNELL, & others.

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Copy......

SPEECH OF GEN. A. B. NORTON,

MADE IN THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE, APRIL 8th, 1861.

Mr. Speaker— I rise, to a question of personal privilege. For the first time in my life: and greatly to my aversion, I am compelled to trouble a public body with my personal grievance, and to ask, for what I may say, the candid consideration of those who hear me —which I now do because this question of personal privilege upon which I am about to speak, concerns not myself individually alone but also is of importance to yourselves, my associates in the Legislature, and all those who may have been socially or otherwise connected with me. I hold in my hand, various papers, containing charges of a very grave and serious character—some making the direct allegations—others doing the thing more covertly and slily, by insinuation and innuendo, all aimed directly at the same object and endeavoring to accomplish my overthrow and ruin.

To these, one and all, I shall reply in general terms, and shall endeavor to occupy as brief a time as possible, as I would not now needlessly encroach upon the business of this Legislature.

I hold in my hand, sir, copies of the Marshall *Republican*, Dallas *Herald*, Belton *Democrat*, Tyler *Sentinel*, Tyler *Reporter*, Jefferson *Herald and Gazette*, *Jeffersonian*, *Enquirer*, *Monitor*, and various other papers published in different points in this State and outside of it, which have in one form and another given utterance to falsehoods against me, which have been reiterated in the columns of the city papers, and finally made their appearance in the official organ of the Legislature and the Convention —the *State Gazette*. And having assumed this semi-official form, I am constrained to notice in my official position attacks from persons to whom I would otherwise give as wide a charter as the wind to blow on me when it listeth, preferring their ribald abuse and denunciation to their praise.

The papers, sir, contain the charge and allegation, that you have in your body an abolitionist: and that the representative who now addresses you is that man. If this charge be true, have you not for months and years quietly and tacitly permitted an enemy of the South, and one seeking to destroy the institutions of your country, to hold a seat upon this floor in violation of the oath which yourselves as well as himself have taken to support? Have you not thereby proven recreant to your trust? Have you not suffered a stigma to be placed upon the fair escutcheon of Texas? And will you not justly be condemned by your constituency and the entire people of the South?

This, sir, is the view I take of the subject,—and it is because, under the circumstances I deem it a matter of duty, that I shall in a few words meet this cowardly and infamous slander, in order, that I may stand "*rectus in curia*," in the estimation of those with whom I have been pleasantly and agreeably associated in this Legislature, and whom I have been proud to call my friends: notwithstanding that upon many grave questions which have occupied our attention, we have widely differed, but as gentlemen always, each having for the other proper respect and esteem.

To the charge of "Abolitionism" and of my having been of such sentiments in this State or elsewhere, I will cheerfully refer to those who have had opportunities of knowing my true sentiments, in all the freedom of social and private intercourse, as well as the most violent of my political opponents in the past.

I stand this day, sir, among my peers, and in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, to whom I shall in time come to be duly accountable, and pronounce the charge false and slanderous. I challenge scrutiny— I defy investigation.

Briefly, I will refer to my past course. I first entered into political life in the stormy and trying times of 1840, as the [illegible] one of the electors for William Henry Harrison, the true-hearted son of immortal old Ben, who with John Hancock and Thomas Jefferson, signed the declaration of American Independence. I with "fervency and zeal" supported that man who, in 1819, as a member of Congress voted *against restricting Missouri in her Constitutional rights*, and was one of [illegible] members from non-slaveholding states, who voted in favor of Missouri coming into the Union *upon the same [illegible] other States*, and *opposed all efforts of the [illegible] [illegible] of the right to [illegible] slavery in her Constitution, and for the [illegible]*, he was turned out of office, thus sacrificing himself upon the altar of Southern rights;—for that man who declared in his speech in Cheviot, Ohio, in 1833, that "the *discussion* of the subject of emancipation *in the non-slaveholding states*, is equally injurious to the slaves and their masters, and HAS NO SANCTION IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION;—and for that man who, in an address at Vincennes, inveighed in the strongest terms *against emancipationists*, denouncing their claims as "*weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional*, and implored the citizens of the North-West to frown upon measures which must "eradicate those feelings of attachment and affection between the citizens of all the States, which was produced by a community of interests and dangers in the war of the revolution,—which was the foundation of our happy Union, and by a continuance of which, *it can alone be preserved*." In this address he contended that "*the people* of the non-

slaveholding states are not WARRANTED BY THE CONSTITUTION IN HOLDING MEETINGS AND PUBLISHING SPEECHES AGAINST THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTH."—for that man who in 1836, in a letter to Thos. Sloo, jr., of New Orleans, said "I do not belive that Congress can abolish slavery in the States, *or in any manner interfere with the property of the citizens in their slaves,"*—"I do not believe that Congress can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Virginia and Maryland and the people of the District."

In the contest of 1844, with increased vigor and zeal, I canvassed and worked as an elector for the best abused man by Texian politicians and demagogues the noble patriot Henry Clay, the great-hearted commoner, who in the hour of darkest peril to Texian Independence donated to her cause from his own scanty means, $1000 in hard money. In 1848, for Zachary Taylor, the immortal hero of Buena Vista; and in 1852 for Winfield Scott, the gallant conquerer of Vera Cruz, and the old chief who planted the star spangled banner on the walls of the city of the Montezumas.

I have watched closely and with a hostile eye, the progress of Abolition, from the day when the little speck was not larger than a man's hand, till the large black cloud has spread desolation and ruin upon our wide extended country.

I opposed it when Samuel Morris, ex-democratic U. S. Senator of Ohio, a native of the Old Dominion, was its national standard bearer,—when James G. Birney, the apostate son of the South was its chosen head,—when Martin Van Buren, the peculiar favorite of the South as a democratic President, lead its column,—when John P. Hale, the elected democratic U. S. Senator of New Hampshire, marshalled its hosts,—when John C. Fremont, another apostate son of South Carolina, almost achieved a victory,—and when Lincoln, a native of Kentucky, lead the hordes of Black Republicans amid the ruins of our beloved country, triumphantly to the National Capitol! Throughout all its course I have ever steadfastly and firmly opposed its onward march.

That such was my conduct in Ohio, and that I entertained these views when a citizen of a free state and in the midst of the enemy, is true, and I will proceed to maintain it by the record.

I now read sir, brief extracts from the papers of the democratic party—and give you the testimony of men with whom I combatted as strongly and as warmly as I have ever done with any in Texas.

From the Democratic Banner, the organ of the Democracy of Knox county, Ohio, August 23d, 1853, I extract from a two column article under the following caption: "*The great war talk in the wigwam of the enemy! Attempt to sell out the 'Old Line Whigs' to the Abolitionists!*"

"The remarks of Doctor Dyer upon a motion, declaring it *inexpedient* to nominate a Whig ticket and recommending a fusion with the Temperance alliance and "Free-soilers," called forth a powerful and most withering phillipic from Banning Norton, in which he denounced all such sentiments of *expediency* advanced by the Doctor and declared that the Whig party was not dead as asserted by Mr. Browning, that it was founded in the immortal principles of *protection and paper currency*, taught by Clay, by Webster, by Adams, and by Hamilton, that although parties and organizations might change, their imperishable and immortal principles never would; that they were the nucleus around which ONE MILLION FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND WHIGS rallied at the last Presidential election. That he regarded Dr. Dyer's resolution, as a movement on the part of Mr. Browning, the Fredericktown clique and a few others to sell the Whig party, "body and breeches" to the Abolitionists! That for himself he thanked God, that as a Knox county Whig, and as an OLD LINE HENRY CLAY WHIG, he never *would get down on his knees to* [illegible] *party who, in their pleasure,* [illegible] *Whigs to vote for.* THAT HE [illegible] AND CONTEMNED THE ABOLITION PARTY; that they had always reviled and execrated Whig [illegible], that they had denounced "old Zack," and abused, villified, and misrepresented the gallant Henry Clay and that although they had aided the Whigs to elect Hurd and Smith, and Farquhar and Windom, *nevertheless they did so from feelings purely selfish*: that their damnable designs were now palpable from their efforts to swallow up the Whig party; that their [illegible] were perfectly understood by *old line Whigs*; that he abjured all affinity with them, and that he had sworn before his God never to COHABIT or have *connection with Abolitionism*! That he had sworn eternal hostility to all parties, factions and organizations, that were not Whigs! That HE DENOUNCED THE TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE as a political organization, whose aim and object was to rule; that he had the means of proving it such: that he knew its leaders; that they were men who made temperance a *stalking horse*, under which they concealed their most damnable and profitable designs, and that in conclusion he called upon the CLAY WHIGS to 'STICK TO THE RANKS,' to "die with the harness on their backs!"—to prove themselves the "old guard" of the principles taught by Clay, by Adams, by Hamilton, and the "*worthies of '76*,"—that the Whigs were not dead, but have been "sleeping upon their arms,"—that they had but to arouse themselves, shake off the dew drops that glittered upon their garments, and come forth to battle and to victory."

Another article I cite from the Democratic Banner as showing more conclusively the position I held in that State and also that maintained by my friends:

"*The Fugitive Slave Law.*"

"Let it be borne in mind, that the Fugitive Slave Law was essentially a WHIG MEASURE —it was projected by Henry Clay, passed by a Whig Congress, and APPROVED BY A WHIG PRESIDENT. ☞ The Norton and Jones (Jones, my cousin was the U. S. Marshal of Ohio during the Taylor and Fillmore administration and executed and enforced that law faithfully during his term of office,) Convention in this city, nominated a ticket composed chief-

ly of FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW WHIGS, and the woolly headed editor of the African organ *The Times*, declared in open convention, "I do feel that we should *insult the people of this County by [illegible] with [illegible] as this!!*"

The editor of the same paper again closing a notice of another speech made by me—uses this language:

"Norton is a patriot, every inch of him, and has no love for the abolition traitors, who would rend this fair Union into a thousand atoms to gratify their unholy feelings."

And again speaking of another Convention, held another year he uses these words:

Fusion Confounded.

[illegible] FLE[illegible] SAPP, AND BANNING NOR-[illegible]TON TRIUMPHANT.

The [illegible] Gray in the Land.

"Jones and Norton publicly proclaimed that they would support Whigs, and [illegible] Hogs, and that if [illegible] were nominated, they [illegible]. This was no child's threat, [illegible], they not only meant it, but they have given proofs of their sincerity. [illegible] They out-plan and out-[illegible] the Free Soilers—and every blow they have dealt, has been a death stroke.

The Norton triumph is complete; [illegible] and to cap the [illegible], the richest [illegible] Norton gave, was the front-face blow dealt Ben Smith [illegible] then a Republican Representative [illegible], blacking both his eyes, and fairly taking the wind out of his puffy [illegible]. Oily Gammon suffered some [illegible], and Norton was fully revenged on Smith for giving the printing to the Times. They have nominated a full-blooded, old line, still back Whig ticket."

In 18[illegible], I was one of the few men in the Buckeye State to rally around "Taylor with his 2[illegible]0 niggers," and to manfully contend with the enemies of our rights—to contribute of my means liberally to found presses; and in that and all other campaigns by my pen and upon the stump, I did all that one of my humble ability and influence could do to sting, goad and crush Abolitionism.

When Salmon P. Chase—the leading democrat of Ohio, and ex U. S. Senator, elected by democratic votes—the present Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Lincoln, perigrinated the state, in his various canvasses for abolition, I invariably and in every instance opposed him; and, sir, when he was [illegible] for Governor, I joined in the call for a mass meeting of Whigs and Americans at the capitol of the state to devise means of accomplishing his defeat; and that you may judge of the temper, tone, and spirit of the times and of those who then and there tried to stay the [illegible] waves of fanaticism, I would refer to the account of said meeting in the Ohio "Statesman," the organ of the democratic party of Ohio, edited and published by Sam. Medary, "the wheel horse of Ohio democracy,"—known to many of this body, and particularly to my friends from Dexar, (Mr. Wachter) and from Smith, (Mr. Hubbard), who sat under his ministrations as President of the "National Democratic Convention" at Cincinnati, in 1856.

"MASS CONVENTION OF THE WHIGS AND AMERICAN PARTY OF OHIO.—OPPOSITION TO CHASE AND FUSION.—*Hon. Allen Trimble nominated for Governor.*

* * * * * *

Hon. Irad Kelly, of Cuyahoga, on taking the chair stated the objects of the Convention. He said, this is a Mass Convention of those in the State of Ohio, who desire the nomination of an honest man for Governor, (applause) a convention of men who desire to vote for a gentleman *opposed to sectionalism in national politics*, and in favor of a State policy different from that advocated by either of the parties already organized."

On motion of Mr. Norton, a committee was appointed for the selection of permanent officers and for other purposes:

In discharge of their duty they reported the names of John Davenport, of Belmont, for President and twenty-one Vice Presidents and Secretaries, &c. From the address of Judge Davenport on taking the chair, I take a brief extract:

"We cannot but consider that Mr. Chase's antecedents as a politician render him entirely unfit for a high office at the hands of the people. We all remember the means by which he obtained and procured his election to the United States Senate, and that the whole Whig party of Ohio at the time denounced it as corrupt and unfair. But if that were all, we might still be content to go to the polls and cast our suffrages for such other candidates as we could support, simply declining to vote for him. I know that in alluding to that gentleman's past history and present position as a sectional agitator, and in pronouncing his election now an endorsement of ideas and conduct dangerous to the existence of the nation, we shall be scoffed at and stigmatised by the cant term of '*Union Savers*.'

We shall be sneered at for saying that our reasons for so believing him, consist in the conviction that the principles and objects of that gentleman and his political friends cannot be practically [illegible] and carried on, without imperiling the Union of these States. It is strange, lamentably strange, that we have fallen upon times so full of evil, that devotion to the permanency of this Republic is to be treated with taunts, jeers and derision. But this state of public sentiment, if so it may be called, should only serve to quicken our efforts for the maintenance of our Union."

From the speech of Gen. Stanbery, I extract the following:

"He had only attended as a member of this Mass Convention to serve, if he might aid in doing so, the State of Ohio from the disgrace of electing an Abolition Governor. According to the morals and manners of certain parties in these degenerate times, said Mr. S., it seems that the word 'patriotism' had come to mean merely "hatred of the South." He spurned the unworthy thought.

What had caused this infatuation of Abolitionism in inculcating the sentiments of sectional ill-feeling by which themselves were solely animated?" We [illegible] much—we of the

North—very much, of all our boasted prosperity here to Southern labor, Southern money, Southern products, Southern trade and Southern markets. We owe three-fourths of our flourishing shipping interests to the cotton, sugar and tobacco of our Southern brethren. The institution of slavery is of no damage to us, but is the direct source of a large proportion of all our Northern prosperity. Mr. Stanberry enlarged upon the evils which had followed the mode of emancipation adopted in the West Indies. He could easily pardon the imputed transgressions of the South. They had these dire examples of the mistaken policy and inflammatory zeal of Northern agitators before their eyes. They have reason to fear their very existence as a people, if similar schemes were pressed upon them.

* * * * *

"At the close of his remarks, Mr. Norton from the committee on Resolutions, reported as follows: ([illegible] extract such as bear on national issues.)

WHEREAS: We believe that the period has arrived when all who cherish the permanence and integrity of the *Union*, of our common country and have a regard for the interests of the State of Ohio, so long and so deeply injured, should distinctly and solemnly announce their [illegible] and opinions. Therefore

Resolved, That with reverential accord we [illegible] the admonition of the Father of the Country, *[illegible] of sectional parties*, and utterly repudiate, as unworthy the confidence of the people of Ohio, the party inaugurated in our State, under the auspices of the Convention of the 13th of July last, the great object of which is to array one section of our Union against the other.

Resolved, That [illegible] the organization [illegible] [illegible], candidates for Governor have been selected as the representative men of their party, and [illegible] that while Hon. Salmon P. Chase may represent the Abolitionists of Ohio, and Hon. Wm. Medill the Nebraska Democrats of the State, both of them are the farthest from [illegible] our [illegible]: that the Hon. Allen Trimble, a favorite Governor of our State in times when *a thought of disunion was [illegible]*, [illegible] of lofty character and [illegible] is our choice for Governor of Ohio, and we [illegible] nominate him as a candidate for that office.

The reading of the resolutions was frequently interrupted [illegible]. When the last was read, [illegible] the name of Hon. Allen Trimble for Governor, the applause was [illegible] and long continued, at the close of which the Band was called on to play the "Star Spangled Banner," which was given and cheered to the echo [illegible] again.

Addresses were then made by various gentlemen, who like "Mr. Norton, lampooned the political character of Mr. Chase without [illegible]." I was the last speaker, and the "*[illegible]*" gives the substance of my remarks. "This gentleman is the leading editor of the Continental, just established in this city (in opposition to the old Whig paper) as the organ of the [illegible] American party of Ohio.

Mr. N. pledged his unflagging efforts to the support of Hon. Allen Trimble, as the representative of the national views of the "American party," and their principles as *enemies to* the disunion tendencies of the Fusion nominee. Mr. N. pronounced the proceedings of the Fusion Convention an unprincipled bargain, designed to sell out the votes of the whole American party."

A State Central Committee was appointed consisting of twenty-one members, of which I had the honor to be elected chairman, and I at once issued an address to the electors of the State, from which I will present the following brief extract: In this connection however, I will further remark that my associates and co-workers in that exciting campaign have to this day "kept the faith"—as I am proud to say that in the last Presidential election, the Union ticket in Ohio was headed by Allen Trimble and John Davenport, as electors for the State at large.

As chairman of the State Central Committee, I put forth a lengthy address, exhorting the people to rebuke sectionalism and abolitionism in the strongest terms at my command. I denounced Mr. Chase and his faction for attempting "to free the negro at the expense of the masters,—to *rob* the American citizen in order to elevate [illegible],—for having repudiated [illegible] and introducing the [illegible] question of slavery." And as peculiarly applicable to the state of parties at this time in Texas, as well as throughout the country, I make the following short extract, to which I invite the [illegible] attention of all [illegible] enemies and [illegible] of the Constitution and the Union.

"Absurd as is this course among ourselves, people of Ohio, it is far worse than mere folly in its effects upon this great Republic. It is a [illegible], without the excuse of national differences, [illegible] of *[illegible]*, and of [illegible]. It is [illegible] purposely and exactly what the Father of his country warned us against. Suppose the demagogues successful to the utmost extent of their claims: suppose them successful throughout the free States.—What then? Are you, patriots and lovers of your country, seriously and ready prepared for the issue which the Sumners, Chases and Wilsons would make for you? Are you prepared to see the free States engaged in deadly hostility to the slave States, without any common ground [illegible] or [illegible] mediator between them? Recollect that on this issue you will have no vote in the Slave states: no national party intermingling with the people: no calm forum of public discussion, but there will be there two sectional arrays, darkly and angrily frowning upon each other! Are you prepared for this? Are you prepared to risk this great Republic on the angry waves of a sectional storm! This is the sole issue which Mr. Chase and his confederates have deliberately made, and we cannot avoid it if we would. What may we conjecture is their object? *Personal [illegible]* only: We cannot discern a wise, a noble or a [illegible] motive,

with which the mantle of charity may cover their conduct. No sectional President, not one, has yet been elected, and who can fathom the consequence of such an event, if such should ever occur? We turn with dread from the mere contemplation of such a scene, and trust we may avoid it by the virtue, good sense, and the patriotism of the people."

How prophetic those words uttered in 1855!

The Ides of March 1861, witnessed the inauguration of the first "sectional President."

"The wide, the unbounded future lies before us.
But shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it."

"From this evidence (and I have much other that I could present, were it not for occupying so much of your time), I trust I have disabused the minds of any who may have been led to imbibe a prejudice against me by the vile attacks that have been made here to my injury.

If cumulative evidence were necessary, I need not refer to files of old papers published in other States since I have upon this floor in the person of the honorable representative from Orange (Mr. Smith) my first preceptor, who taught me my A B C's, and is intimately acquainted with all of my family, knows their conservative course and is a present living witness of the correctness of my statements.

I stood up for the rights of the South and was denounced as a pro-slavery man in that country. I expended a handsome fortune in fighting the enemies of the Constitution at their own strongholds. I

"[illegible]
The 'Chase' [illegible]."

I used my pen, my tongue, my purse, in defence of the Constitution and the Union. I stood up for the cause of the country where and when it required more nerve and backbone to maintain one's position than I have ever known in Texas, even in these troublous times.

I was bred up, reared, a Union man and a Whig. That was the sin against the Holy Ghost for which I had to answer. And, sir, when that party of sound principles was overthrown, upon the passage of the Kansas bill—the secret [illegible] of death to the South—when a change took place in one year in the political status of the electors of that State, of 105,000 votes, and they had dived deep into the muddy pool of abolitionism, I shook the dust from off my feet and determined to make my home and future abiding place in this bright land of promise. During that last campaign, sir, I had the honor of editing the Whig and American organ of the State. I was chairman of the last Whig State Central Committee of that State; and, sir, I may remark in this connection that my father had served in that capacity in the first Whig Committee when Mr. Clay was first a candidate; and I can now say, with truth as did the great Irish orator, in his most famous oration—"I have rocked the liberty of my country in its cradle and followed its hearse to the grave."

In my last canvass in Ohio, sir, I had the honor—I call it honor—of having a stand from which I was addressing the people, torn down, and of having had a meeting, while I was speaking, attacked by an abolition mob, headed by Capt. Tom. Ford, the public printer of the present Black Republican Congress, at the home of John Sherman, their late candidate for Speaker of the House, and the recently elected U. S. Senator of the Black Republicans of Ohio.

But, sir, the true men of Richland county, at my call, rallied and dispersed them, and gave me a hearing, about midnight of the Saturday night prior to the election, by the light of bonfires upon the public square. Of all this, sir, I have an account published in the *Shield and Banner*, a democratic paper of that county, edited and controlled by John Y. Glessner—to this day, to his praise I can say, sir, a gentleman and a staunch National Democrat, if you can consider such to be an advocate of the Breckinridge ticket at the last election!

Thus treated, sir, by the advocates of free soil and free speech in that vaunted land of freedom, I made sacrifice, sir, of all I had and left the country.

The inquiry came to me, as it did to the God-like Daniel Webster, on another, in some respects like occasion, when he exclaimed—"Where shall I go?" And, sir, the finger of Hope pointed me to Texas! And, I must say, it directed me to this land [illegible] my heart [illegible] memories of the past, and [illegible] that I could [illegible] there.

And here, sir, I will briefly refer to it, though it might bear the appearance of egotism:—yet in the peculiar position I occupy, where my reputation, my character, my standing, my life, and safety, and that of my wife and little ones are involved, I may be pardoned for so doing. When the Mexican invaders were about overpowering the feeble colonists and the few soldiers of liberty, in this, then remote land—when the cry for help and succor was sent forth by Gen. Houston, and his brave yet suffering men, to the United States of the South—when from various quarters men, singly and in companies, were rallying to the Lone Star standard—then, sir, it was that my father, in the very heart of Ohio, took up the cause of bleeding and poor Texas, and through his means and instrumentality, sent to this land men and arms—then it was [illegible] company organized, armed and equipped to do service in your army, notwithstanding U. S. [illegible] were trying to prevent the violation of the neutrality laws in that way, and with [illegible] of Texas, [illegible] my father, [illegible] to your fields [illegible] expense [illegible] government, the Mount Vernon Company Volunteers—a company of [illegible] men [illegible] they performed services [illegible] honorably discharged, as the records [illegible] prove, and the rolls of the company show but a single [illegible], although many of them died in service, and I do not at this day know of one of the number yet living. [illegible], sir, I now have in my hands the vouch-

ers—the proofs. This disinterested bounty, sir, never asked any recompense. It was glory enough, and compensation enough, for him to know that freedom to Texas had been won, and a new empire added to civilization. He sought no pay. He asked no praise from your government. The same service, sir, he performed during the Mexican war, growing out of the annexation of Texas, as the roll of the Mount Vernon Guards in Mexico, and the gallant Col. Morgan,* who was wounded at Chepultepec, and his brave men who now survive, will testify: and, sir, he asked not a dime of remuneration from the United States government for that.

My father's fortune thus spent in acquiring new fields for the extension of your institutions and your people, money poured out like water in your cause—The blood of my kindred shed in your service, should at least have entitled me to some exemption from abuse, and given me some rights in this land.

Your Legislature, sir, recompensed Captain Jack R. Everett, in an act passed at the 6th session, appropriating over $4000 for getting up a company of volunteers, at Mobile, Alabama. They paid the State of Georgia, at the same session, for arms furnished to the Georgia Battalion.

They have paid numberless others whom I might name, did I not wish to abbreviate my remarks as much as possible: for, sir, I have the records to show all these things up, and that, too, in their true colors: but, sir, they never paid for the 67 stand of arms furnished the Buckeye Guards—they never paid for the arms furnished the Mt. Vernon Volunteers—they never paid for money expended in their behalf—they have not been called upon to do so and they never will be.

Is it not particularly worthy of comment that a humble individual like myself should be singled out, and abused, and ordered to "be hung," simply because of my having had the hardihood to avow that I came to this State from Ohio—from a State that furnished more volunteers to Texas than any other State in the Union—that gave the lives of her citizens to purchase your liberties—that gave the "twin sisters," the only cannon that spoke death to the invaders and oppressors at San Jacinto—that stood upon the vanguard of freedom in the past;—a descendant of one who contributed thousands to the achievement of your own independence?

* George W. Morgan with his brother Capt. Thomas J. Morgan, brought a company of volunteers from Washington, Pennsylvania, who served during the Texian revolution. He left this service as a Captain. He entered the Mexican war as Captain of the Guards—was promoted to a Colonelcy—wounded at Chepultepec and as a Brevet Brigadier General at the close of the war, returned to his home in Ohio, from whence he was appointed by President Pierce to represent the U. S. Government at the Court of Portugal—from whence he has now been re-called by President Lincoln to make room for the Abolition orator Carl Schurz.

I came, as I may say, to your land as a voluntary exile—as one banished by political proscription. My record will satisfy any—the most incredulous—of this fact. I left as warm and dear friends as any one ever did, and, sir, with no stain of abolitionism upon my garments, and as the still farther fact, that I left "under the tongue of good report," I may state that in the contest of 1856, when 3000 miles away from my old home, the State Convention of my old party, sir, honored me with a position on the State electoral ticket of Fillmore and Donaldson—the Millard Fillmore who approved and executed the Fugitive Slave Law.—I then being as my friends from Smith (Messrs Hubbard and Lewter), from Orange (Mr. Smith), from Jasper (Mr. Crawford), from Tyler (Mr. Ross), from Harrison (Messrs. Whitmore and Craig), from Shelby (Mr. Short), and other gentlemen well know, a citizen of the State of Texas, advocating the unpopular Whig and American side, because I then believed it right: and, sir, I never falter or swerve from what my own conscience indicates is right, though all the world stand against me in solid array. Sometimes, sir, I give offence to my opponents by my bluntness and candor, but such is my nature and I cannot help it, and I would not if I could.

Whom sir, and how have I now offended? I have it is alleged, been guilty of issuing an address urging the people of Texas to calm and prayerful deliberation before they separated from the Federal Union. Sentiments in that address are denounced as "rank Helperism," and I am branded as an Abolitionist for being of the number of signers of the same. The other signers to that are all slaveholders of the 24,* a large number have never been upon free soil in their lives, have been born and bred to believe the institution of slavery of divine origin and have ever manfully defended it. Some of the number have been in Texas as much as 13 years—others natives of the soil, have never drawn a breath outside of its limits—and many of them have served her in trying times in the field as soldiers as well as in the Council Chambers—one of the number, Maj. Bogart, now alas, no more—a gallant soldier in the war of 1812.

"He sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle.
No sound shall awake him to glory again!"

But Norton has been singled out because forsooth he came from Ohio—and the address because thereof, is "rank Helperism" and he and his associates are "abolitionists." Most lame and impotent conclusion of most bigoted and intolerant judges whose honor and mercy eclipse their great prototypes of the thumb screw, rack and inquisition!!

Now, one word Mr. Speaker, in regard to that address—the objectionable paragraphs so much denounced, are based and predicated upon an editorial which appeared in the *Democrat and Planter*, published at Columbia, Brazoria county, which I now hold in my hand and would call special attention to it.

* The 24 signers and the Union men stigmatised as "Helperites" and "Abolitionists" are interested in slaves to the number of 480.

"Brazoria in the Convention.

The plan suggested for the approaching Convention, and which seems to meet with general consent, is nevertheless for many reasons objectionable. It is proposed that each county shall send twice as many delegates as she has representatives, according to the last apportionment. It will be seen that this plan works very badly for those counties having a large slave population, and which are really more interested in this Southern movement than any others. Take for example, Brazoria. This county has a larger number of slaves in proportion to the whites than any other county in the State. It is by far the wealthiest county in the State in proportion to her population, and as taxation and representation ought in some degree to go together, it would seem but just and right that she should be represented in a convention of this kind. But although Brazoria county has a population of nearly eight thousand, white and colored, yet by the late apportionment, she is not allowed a representation. In connection with Galveston she is to elect a floater, who may, Galveston consenting, come from this county. It is the same way with the delegates to the convention. Galveston will probably be courteous enough to allow us one delegate out of four for the two counties. There will be counties having two delegates in the convention, which have not half as many slaves in the whole county as can be found on one plantation in Brazoria. To show the unfairness of this plan still more clearly, let us take two other counties, Comal and Wharton. Comal county has [illegible] slaves, and is allowed two delegates in the Convention: Wharton county [illegible] slaves and will have no delegate in the Convention! Now which is more interested in defending and perpetuating the institution of slavery, the planting county of Wharton, or the Dutch county of Comal? The fact is the most [illegible] counties, and those having the largest slave population, are allowed the least voice in the matter.

We know that a majority of the people of Comal and many other counties in the State, filled up with foreigners, cannot feel so deeply interested whether we have a Black Republican President or not; whether or not slavery be admitted into new territories: in short, whether Texas be a free or a slave State, but to such counties as Brazoria, Wharton, Matagorda and Fort Bend; these are matters of vital importance.

But says one, "we must submit to the voting majority." Well, if this be so, let us talk no more of Northern aggression. Lincoln has been elected by the Northern hordes of abolitionists —by a voting majority. Upon the same principle we should submit to his election.

We believe that every county in the State, should have at least one delegate in the Convention. Every State, no matter how small, is allowed one representative in Congress; so in our Legislature, each county should be represented.

It may be that the present plan is the best that could have been suggested; we hope the rights and interests of all will be respected."

Commenting upon that as any man jealous of the rights of the people would do has excited much ire and indignation. It is denounced as "rank Helperism," which I suppose is the most damnable of all epithets that our enemies can use in these times of terrible words and furious raids, of vigilance committees and committees of public safety. I know not myself what its full tenor is, since, sir, I never have seen or read the work of Helper from which this word has been coined, nor do I believe that any of those who united with me in issuing that address to the people of Texas know anything more about it.

To all that appears in that address, I did and still do subscribe, and to all such I hold myself responsible, but I deny that any one can draw from that the inference that I am an abolitionist or untrue to the South or her institutions. I am not, sir, and God forbid that I ever should be! In the soil of the South, on the [illegible] of the Attakapas, the bones of an old soldier of the American revolution, and of several of his family rest. He, sir, was the first American settler in all that then foreign land. His sons rallied around the stars and stripes and followed the flag of the Republic throughout the war of 1812—they contended for the liberties of the country—and when disease and death came upon them and reduced their numbers, in after times they migrated to a colder clime—and ex-Gov. Henry Johnson and Hon. John Moore, "Honest John Moore," the old faithful member of Congress and most prominent member of the secession convention of Louisiana, and others of the earliest settlers of that country, can speak of them. It becomes not me to rehearse. It is not my purpose to pass any eulogy upon the dead of my kindred, it does not become me to do so, but sir, when I am denounced as an "enemy to the South" and an "abolitionist," I may at least crave indulgence for this reference. And sir, having in my hands the records of their loyalty and devotion to your cause and your interests, I may be [illegible] in my defence from a most base and malicious slander.

Those who have known me intimately, I am confident will give me credit for sincerity, candor and independence. As I have before said, if I have ever had any sin to answer for, it has been that of being a devoted friend of the Constitution and the Union of my fathers—a whig —a Henry Clay whig. Alike in defeat and adversity as in prosperity, I clung to the banner of that party while it had an existence. I never bowed my knee to Baal—and I can prove by my bitterest opponents in the State from whence I came, that I ever fought the abolition beasts at Ephesus. My political course in Texas is known to you all—I have had no concealments or disguises.

I have been a zealous and ardent friend of that Union under which we had so greatly prospered as a people, until unmindful of its great blessings like Jesburum of old, you have "waxed fat and kicked." I never like the double-faced Janus of the ancient heathens, had one set of principles and one course of action to and for the North and another to and for the South.

I did not join with you in your unholy cru-

side against what I had been taught from my earliest youth to regard as sacred. I could not find it in my heart to do so. And while I might like many others have, remained silent and have permitted the election upon secession to have gone by default. I could not do violence to my nature and my well defined views of right by so doing, but preferred to speak and write and do all in my power in opposition to the movement. For this action I have been with many far better men, denounced in unmeasured terms, and epithets have been hurled at us with such rancor and deadly hate that I have almost wondered if some of those thus berating us had not lost their reason and were not entirely destitute of souls. I have also been lead at times to believe when the natives of Texas and of the South—the adopted citizens, the old soldiers of San Jacinto—the old settlers of Austin colony—the pioneers of civilization and liberty in this Western land, whose hearts like mine "kept time to the music of the Constitution and the Union," have been in like manner unsparingly denounced that the epithets in these degenerate days had become terms of honor and lost all their opprobrium!

Mr. Speaker, I did not rise to argue, to animadvert, to criminate, or to recriminate, but sir, simply to do justice to you by having it known, that you have not in associating with me in this Hall, been less jealous of your honor than were the members of the 6th Legislature by whom measures were taken to get rid of a member at whose door not half such obnoxious charges were laid as at mine—I allude to Hon. Lorenzo Sherwood, Democrat, of Galveston. The fact, sir, that up to this time the last day but one of the session, no allusion has been made to the subject by any member upon this floor, is I take it, pretty fair evidence that you have not yourselves had any confidence in the report of abolitionism circulated by the malicious among the secession press of the State against me and it is to enable you to say with truth that I am "sound as a dollar" upon this vexed question that I have taken this occasion to refer to my record.

Upon the question of love of country no man shall surpass me, as I have allowed none to excel me in the past in devotion to the Union. Identified with this country, its interests are mine—and with its policy as marked out by a legal majority, I will expect to be controlled as must be every other good citizen. I have never sought to be with a majority—I cannot change my nature—I never will give up my own convictions of right for popular favor. I have been generally in the minority and such may be my lot upon political questions that may arise in future. But no man will more fervently pray for the general prosperity of the people and the welfare of the State with which he is identified than the one who now addresses you.

The glorious Union has been dissolved, and civil war with all its dread results will come upon this land—and we shall see its proud and haughty freemen transformed from brothers into demons, instead of rejoicing over the general prosperity and happiness, with fiendish delight tear down and destroy the great estate bequeathed us by a glorious ancestry, and present to the world the sad spectacle of the land of WASHINGTON being rent in twain by civil dissessions, and thrown into anarchy and confusion worse than that of Agramontes' camp, when in one place they fought for a sword, in another for a horse, in a third for an eagle, in a fourth a helmet, in short all by the ears for they know not what. Madness rules the hour and bigotry, and intolerance have done this work—

"Shake not thy gory locks at me,
Thou can'st not say I did it!"

True to the teachings of my youth, I have endeavored to stand by the old land marks of the Constitution, and have labored to prevent the destruction of the Union. The storm cloud has threatened—the shock of battle has come—animated with the spirit of the patriot Lawrence, when he exclaimed, "Never give up the ship," I have stood at my post—and it may with truthfulness be said—

"Faithful among the faithless,
Unmoved, unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his zeal, his love,
Nor numbers nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change the steadfast
purpose of his mind"—

And now, sir, that the golden bowl has been broken—the Union dissolved, and I am having hurled at me the charge of abolitionism, after I have been driven by the intolerance of the North to this sunny clime, after having been mobbed and pelted by abolitionists North, for maintaining firmly and steadfastly the principles in which I was reared—and after having been denounced by extremists here, I may ejaculate in the words of my honorable friend from Gonzales, (Mr. Stewart,) "I should desire to hide myself in some secluded cave, in the lonely mountain side, where I could not witness my country's desolation, or get rumor of her distracted state of commotion, civil wars, ruin, destruction, and final desolation."

Mr. Speaker, I crave pardon of the House for having thus trespassed upon its attention—but sir, I have felt it due as well to the honorable members of this body, with whom I have been pleasantly and kindly associated as to myself—due also to my constituency, who have time and again honored me with their support, and I am satisfied would not now withhold from me their approval and confidence, for which I shall ever feel grateful—due to the people of Texas, with many of whom although differing from me politically, I have been agreeably associated—due to my family, some of whom are natives of the country—all of whom will in all human probability mingle their dust with that of mine in the soil of Texas!

In their defence, and in my own vindication, I have made these remarks, and sir, I denounce the charge made against me as *false, slanderous, malicious, dastardly*—and whoever may hereafter give circulation or utterance to it is a WILFUL AND DELIBERATE LIAR AND COWARDLY CALUMNIATOR.

The poisoned arrows of vile and abandoned slanderers will fall harmless at my feet—and with "*mens conscia sibi recti*," I bid defiance to the beagles, and blood hounds who have attempted with a ferocity hitherto unparalled in political warfare to hunt me down.

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